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and grows under the process a more impressive character ; so the coming historian of the Constitution may, by the scientific study of the facts—putting aside arguments, hypotheses, preconceptions, traditions and the mere authority of great names, tending this way or that—develop, put together and present to his generation the true outlines and courses of this, the latest and most important movement and effort to secure liberty under democracy.

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870. By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Ph. D. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. I.] (New York, London and Bombay : Longmans, Green and Co. 1896. Pp. xi, 335.)

THE present volume is the first number of the *Harvard Historical Series*, published under the direction of the Department of History and Government of Harvard University out of the Henry Warren Torrey Fund. It is announced that the series will “comprise works of original research selected from the recent writings of teachers and graduates” in this department of that university. The series will also include collections of documents, bibliographies, reprints of rare tracts, etc. While the volumes will appear at irregular intervals it is hoped that at least three will be published annually.

Dr. Du Bois begins his work by a brief summary of the rise and fortunes of the English slave trade. The characteristics of the three classes of American colonies, the planting, the farming and the trading, are traced and the laws passed by each regulating or limiting that trade are summarized. It is worthy of note that while the English slave trade has its origin before the foundation of the American colonies it was principally towards these that it was directed. The trade did not prosper at first. By the *Assiento* of 1713 the English commercial classes secured for themselves the exclusive right to import slaves into Spanish America ; although the importations were large, about half going to the Spanish colonies, the Royal African Company became bankrupt, being a debtor to Spain and a recipient of English bounty. The colonies, as a rule, thought slaves necessary for the development of their natural resources. The necessity of the trade was an unquestioned axiom in England, and that the mother country, in her efforts to promote her own trade, was willing to sacrifice her colonies to the incubus of slavery her instructions to royal governors to encourage the Royal African Company and her disallowance of prohibitive duties will clearly testify.

But it must be admitted that the restrictions put on the trade by the colonies were uncertain in character and varying in amount. As early as 1698 South Carolina became uneasy at the great increase in the number of slaves and tried to counteract their influence by a special law to encourage the immigration of white servants. One of the favorite methods was by a duty which decreased importation and at the same time brought

a revenue into the public coffers. The reasons for restriction were different in different colonies. The fear of servile insurrections was none of the least. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haytian revolution had a marked effect at the time and caused the Southern states to shun contact with West Indian negroes like the plague.

In the middle, or farming colonies, slavery had less chance for development on account of climate, physical characteristics and the circumstances of settlement. The chief restrictions here were that slavery did not pay, and "the shrewd business sense of the traders, who never flooded the slave market, but kept a supply sufficient for the slowly growing demand" (p. 19). In New England the system had "no economic justification, and the small number of negroes here furnished no political arguments against them. The opposition to the importation was therefore from the first based solely on moral grounds with some social arguments, . . . but it was swept away by the immense economic advantages of the slave traffic to a thrifty seafaring community of traders" (p. 38). This spirit appears plainly in the debates in the Constitutional Convention and the later debates in Congress. It was in New England alone that the commercial circle was complete: "Owners of slavers carried slaves to South Carolina, and brought home naval stores for their ship-building; or to the West Indies and brought home molasses; or to other colonies, and brought home hogsheads. The molasses was made into highly prized New England rum, and shipped in these hogsheads to Africa for more slaves. Thus, the rum-distilling industry indicates to some extent the activity of New England in the slave trade" (pp. 28-29).

The Quakers, not only of the northern and middle colonies, but of the southern as well, were leaders in the early efforts against the trade. The Germantown protest was issued as early as 1688. The Philadelphia yearly meeting advised against the importation of negroes in 1696; slaveholding was made a disownable offense in 1770 in New England and in Pennsylvania in 1776. The Virginia Quakers opposed the trade as early as 1722. In 1758 it became the leading question in the North Carolina yearly meeting. In 1768 this meeting forbade its members to trade in slaves; two years later it stood with the Virginia Quakers in supporting the protest of the Virginia Burgesses against the trade, addressed to the throne of Great Britain; and in 1777 was ready to enter into a contest with the state of North Carolina over the right of the individual owner to give freedom to his slaves. Their efforts did not cease when they had cleared their own skirts of the system, but in the next generation they produced the editor of the first paper to demand immediate and unconditional emancipation and the organizer, as well as the president, of the Underground Railroad.

But there could be no essential unity in these early efforts against the trade. The fusing fires of a great struggle were necessary to give impulse to a common action. This impulse came with the outbreak of the Revolution. From this time the question becomes a part of the history of the

United States and loses much of the freshness and interest which characterizes the early pages of the work. The action of the Constitutional Convention and the influence of the Haytian Revolution are treated. The debates leading up to the congressional act of 1807 are traced with care, but with a minuteness that leaves a painful impression of the dryness of our legislative annals. The author frankly confesses that in this period "the strong anti-slavery men, like Bidwell and Sloan, were outgeneraled by southerners, like Earle and Williams," and it is interesting to note that some of the strongest supporters of southern rights, like Baldwin, of Georgia, and Williamson and Martin, of North Carolina, were northern men by birth. The act of 1807 was followed by various attempts at the suppression of the illegal trade then carried on. Many punishments were proposed, but seldom were slavers condemned and it was still more seldom that the trader suffered, all of which was aptly summarized in the words of Macon, who said: "In adopting our measures on this subject, we must pass such a law as can be executed" (p. 98).

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those on the rise of the cotton kingdom and the final crisis. In these Professor Du Bois discusses briefly the rise of those agencies in the manufacture of cotton which made the great growth of the Southwest in the first half of the century possible and linked the fortunes of slavery with the world's cotton market. The tendency was developing under which the patriarchal serfdom of the founders of the republic began to give place to an industrial system, but this movement was, perhaps, not so far advanced as the author supposes. The South was still, to a large extent, isolated and in such sections the planters lived in an economic independence that had felt little change since the days of the first colonists; with the advance of railroads, and the centralization and specialization of industries, the character of slavery began to change.

From the time when the slave trade became unlawful in 1808 there was more or less of illicit business carried on; the vessels engaged were owned largely in New England and New York and were aided by English capital. Before the attempts at suppression by the United States had scored much success the matter grew into an international question, and other nations—notably England, who had been the leading spirit in organizing the traffic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—espoused the cause of freedom and pushed suppression so much more vigorously than the United States that in time the American trade "came to be carried on principally by United States capital, in United States ships, officered by United States citizens, and under the United States flag" (p. 162). The trade increased between 1850 and 1860 and became more bold. New York City was headquarters for the fitting out of slavers and it was said that down-town merchants "of wealth and respectability are extensively engaged in buying and selling African negroes, and have been with comparatively little interruption for an indefinite number of years" (p. 179). The anti-slavery advocates made numerous efforts to amend the laws, to make them more severe, and to put them into

execution, but they were not often well executed, the reasons for the failure being many. The searching of American vessels by British ships complicated the situation.

Dr. Du Bois points to the records of the commercial conventions as illustrating the fact that the states of the slave-consuming cotton belt were in revolt against the base of their labor supply as represented by the border states, but were prevented from active hostilities as they could do nothing without the latter. There was among the former a desire for cheap labor and this was to be obtained by a reopening of the slave trade. Opposition to this movement was found in the border states and to a less extent in the cotton states. The opinions of this minority are well put by Pettigrew in his Minority Report to the South Carolina Legislature in 1857, a document which the author does not appear to have seen. The argument for reopening the trade, he says, was that the South must have a monopoly of cotton production, but the price of cotton was high, which would encourage production elsewhere. To hold this monopoly there must be cheaper cotton; this meant cheap labor, and the importation of Africans. To this argument General Pettigrew replied: The slave trade would reduce the price of domestic slaves; cheap negroes are a weakness and not a strength to the system, and they do not necessarily mean cheap labor, for the American negro, three removes from Africa, is worth at least one half more than a native African and the increase of labor would be by no means proportionate to the number of laborers; the only persons benefitted by cheap cotton would be the manufacturers, and to reduce the price of the cotton then produced by 4,000,000 slaves by one-half would require the introduction not of that number of new negroes, but of ten and two-ninths millions.

As to the causes of the final suppression of the trade, the author says rightly that the moral movement was of limited value; "An appeal to moral rectitude was unheard in Carolina when rice had become a great crop, and in Massachusetts when the rum-slave-traffic was paying a profit of 100 per cent." (p. 195.) The political efforts were partly the outcome of reprobation and partly of expediency, but these acts "were poorly conceived, loosely drawn and wretchedly enforced." The economic movement had best chances of success but was least tried.

The appendices occupy more than a third of the volume and are by no means the least important part. In fact, they reproduce in brief a large part of the materials on which the narrative itself is built. One appendix presents a chronological conspectus of colonial and state legislation restricting the African slave trade, 1641-1787. A second shows state, national and international legislation, 1787-1871; another gives typical cases of vessels engaged in the American slave trade. It is not intended to list here all known cases, but to illustrate merely the character of the trade, licit and illicit, to the United States. Appendix D gives a bibliography of colonial laws and a list of United States documents bearing on the subject, the former arranged by states, the latter chronologically. These are followed by a general bibliography representing the reports of societies, personal narratives and other materials.

Barring the use of a few adjectives here and there that characterize the advocate rather than the historian, the book is a valuable review of an important subject. It shows an immense amount of faithful and diligent work in gathering the sources from many directions.

A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina. By DAVID FRANKLIN HOUSTON, Adjunct-Professor of Political Science in the University of Texas. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume III.] (New York : Longmans, Green and Co. 1896. Pp. ix, 169.)

THE full understanding of our national development would, it has been said, be signally promoted by the issue of carefully prepared monographs dealing with the history of the several states in times since the Revolution. The third volume of the *Harvard Historical Studies* is such a monograph, and shows the value of the suggestion by the light which it throws upon an important episode in the history of South Carolina and the United States. Doubtless many of Professor Houston's readers will be surprised to learn that he was until recently a South Carolinian, for local prejudice, which might be anticipated, finds no place in his pages. Lack of perspective and other monographic defects are skilfully avoided, and the result is a plain, straightforward narrative, in lucid and interesting style, of events in which all students of American history are interested.

The first two chapters form an introduction to the real subject of the study. In the first the early attitude of South Carolina towards the bank, internal improvements and the tariff is discussed ; the second contains the author's interpretation of the history of the constitutional theories involved in the nullification controversy and of the attitude of South Carolina toward them. Chapters III.-VII. inclusive deal with the causes of nullification, the formation of the nullification party and the history of the movement down to the repeal of the Ordinance in 1833. In the final chapter the author states the results of his study. Seven appendices give important documents and a list of authorities.

The introductory chapters are not written in the judicial spirit and with the attention to details which characterize the remainder of the book. Here the author appears more anxious to adduce evidence in support of opinions bearing the sanction of great names than to form independent conclusions. The first chapter consists in large part of excerpts from speeches made in Congress by the representatives of South Carolina ; the conclusion to which these quotations lead is that Calhoun had so committed himself to the policy of protection in 1814-1816 that he could not at a later period, with any sort of consistency, doubt its constitutionality. This exaggerates the extent of his committal to the policy and fails to give due consideration to the explanation offered by Calhoun and his friends. The author appears so taken by forms of expression that he fails to perceive the real object which Calhoun had in view. An analysis of the whole speech, of which a few sentences are